843 the neck of the woman formed any part of the Toda ceremony.

It seemed, however, that after *pursütpimi* the woman is allowed to resume her ornaments, which she has been prohibited from wearing up to this time, and it is possible that this resumption of her ornaments may have been mistaken for "tying the *tali*." It seemed clear, however, that the ornaments were not put on by the husband, nor did the resumption of the ornaments partake in any way of a ceremonial character.

As I hoped to have a chance of witnessing this ceremony during my visit, I did not thresh out the details of *pursütpimi* as thoroughly as those of most other ceremonies and my account is not as complete as I could wish.

[851] The ceremony of *pursütpimi* is of the greatest importance from the social point of view and, as we shall see later, the fatherhood of the child depends entirely upon it. The man who gives the bow and arrow is the father of the child for all social purposes, and is regarded as such even if he has had nothing to do with the woman before the ceremony.

The ceremony must always be performed during the first pregnancy of a woman and it takes place in any succeeding pregnancy only when it is desired for any reason to alter the fatherhood of the children. One of the most serious scandals [626] in Toda society is the birth of a child when the mother has not been through this ceremony.

[764] Both the pregnancy ceremonies are performed at the first funeral of an unmarried or barren woman. In the case of an unmarried girl the bow and arrow are given at the *pursütpimi* ceremony by a *matchuni* of the deceased—*i.e.*, by a relative whom the deceased girl might herself have married. The hand-burning of the *urvatpimi* ceremony is usually performed by a woman of the same clan as the deceased.

171 Since the ceremonies are only performed at the first
843 pregnancy, or when it is desired to change the fatherhood
851 of a child, it seems clear that they closely resemble marriage
585 ceremonies. They would seem to be either marriage ceremonies which have been postponed till shortly before the

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

birth of the first child,[1] or, what is more probable, pregnancy ceremonies resembling those customary in India, which have acquired social significance and have come to resemble marriage ceremonies. But the numerous ceremonies which are performed during pregnancy by the Hindus take place during every pregnancy and are, therefore, sharply differentiated from the Toda rites.

CHILDBIRTH

When the woman returns from the seclusion-hut after the *urvalpivi* ceremony she lives in her usual home with the rest of the family and does her usual work, and she is delivered there. It seemed that any one might be present, and that there was no special ceremony connected with delivery.

During delivery, the woman kneels with her head resting on the breast of a man, usually her husband, who clasps his hands behind her neck. She is tended by a woman, usually by one noted for skill in these matters. If there is much delay, all men and women present lay their hands on the head of the woman and say:

"Swâmi naz vârnâ; swâmi pâdikan tarmâ."

If this is not efficacious a man brings water in a vessel and prays, stirring the water with a piece of grass of the kind called *kakar*. When the prayer is finished, the man sprinkles the water over the woman.

The cord (*pekt*) is cut with a knife, being held down with a stick while it is being cut.

The afterbirth is called *nay* or *pekkâdri*. If there is delay in its delivery, a medicine called *nayinad* is given which is procured from the Badagas. The afterbirth is buried on the day on which the woman goes to the seclusion-hut, a few days after delivery.

[1] This seems to have occurred in a similar ceremony practised by the Badagas, among whom it is said that a woman is not fully considered a wife till about the seventh month of the first pregnancy, when a cord is put round her neck by the husband and the legal marriage becomes complete. (See Thurston, *Bull.* IV., p. 187.)

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595 578 It is possible that at one time the polyandry of the Todas was not so strictly 'fraternal' as it is at present, and it is perhaps in favour of this possibility that in the instance of polyandry given by Harkness[1] the husbands were obviously not own brothers. It must be remembered, however, that this case came to the notice of Captain Harkness because the polyandry had led to disputes, and, as we shall see shortly, it is in those cases of polyandry in which the husbands are not own brothers that disputes arise.

The arrangement of family life in the case of a polyandrous marriage differs according as the husbands are, or are not, own brothers.

In the former case it seemed that there is never any difficulty, and that disputes never arise. The brothers live together, and my informants seemed to regard it as a ridiculous idea that there should ever be disputes or jealousies of the kind that might be expected in such a household. 595 842 851 When the wife becomes pregnant, the eldest brother performs the ceremony of giving the bow and arrow, but the brothers are all equally regarded as the fathers of the child. If one of the brothers leaves the rest and sets up an establishment of his own, it appeared, however, that he might lose his right to be regarded as the father of the children.

If a man is asked the name of his father, he usually gives the name of one man only, even when he is the offspring of a polyandrous marriage. I endeavoured to ascertain why the name of one father only should so often be given, and it seemed to me that there is no one reason for the preference. Often one of the fathers is more prominent and influential than the others, and it is natural in such cases that the son should speak of himself as the son of the more important member of the community. Again, if only one of the fathers of a man is alive, the man will always speak of the living person as his father; thus Siriar (20) always spoke of Ircheidi as his father, and even after Ircheidi is dead, it seems probable that he will so have fallen into the custom of speaking of the latter as his father that he will continue to do so, and it will only be when his attention is especially directed

[1] See his account at the end of this chapter.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

to the point that he will say that Madbeithi was also his father.

In most of the genealogies, the descent is traced from some one man, but there can be no doubt whatever that this man was usually only one of several brothers, and the probable reason why one name only is remembered is that this name was that of an important member of the community, or of the last surviving of the brother-husbands.

When the husbands are not own brothers, the arrangements become more complicated. When the husbands live together as if they were own brothers there is rarely any difficulty. If, on the other hand, the husbands live at different villages, the usual rule is that the wife shall live with each husband in turn, usually for a month at a time, but there is very considerable elasticity in the arrangement.

It is in respect of the 'fatherhood'[1] of the children in these cases of non-fraternal polyandry that we meet with the most interesting feature of Toda social regulations. When the wife of two or more husbands (not own brothers) becomes pregnant, it is arranged that one of the husbands shall perform the ceremony of giving the bow and arrow. The husband who carries out this ceremony is the father of the child for all social purposes; the child belongs to the clan of this husband if the clans of the husbands differ and to the family of this husband if the families only differ. When the wife again becomes pregnant, another husband may perform the *pursütpimi* ceremony, and if so, this husband becomes the father of the child; but more commonly the *pursütpimi* ceremony is not performed at all during the second pregnancy, and in this case the second child belongs to the first husband, *i.e.*, to the husband who has already given the bow and arrow. Usually it is arranged that the first two or three children shall belong to the first husband, and that at a succeeding pregnancy (third or fourth), another husband shall give the bow and arrow, and, in consequence, become the father not only of that child, but of all succeeding children till some one else gives the bow and arrow.

[1] I use the term 'fatherhood' instead of 'paternity' because the latter term seems to imply a meaning which does not belong to the Toda notion of 'father.'

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

595 842 851 The fatherhood of a child depends entirely on the *pursüt-pimi* ceremony, so much so that a dead man is regarded as the father of a child if no other man has performed the essential ceremony.[1]

In the only case in the genealogies in which the husbands of a woman were of different clans, it happened there were only two children, and that one father gave the bow and arrow for the first child and the other for the second.

If the husbands separate, each husband takes with him those children who are his by virtue of the *pursüt-pimi* ceremony.

595 847 182 There is no doubt whatever as to the close association of the polyandry of the Todas with female infanticide. As we have seen, the Todas now profess to have completely given up the practice of killing their female children, but it is highly probable that the practice is still in vogue to some extent. It has certainly, however, diminished in frequency, and the consequent increase in the proportion of women is leading to some modification in the associated polyandry.

178 182 595 It has been stated by most of those who have written about the Todas that the custom of polyandry is dying out, but a glance at the genealogies will show that the institution is in full working order even in the case of the infant marriages which are being contracted at the present time. There is, however, some reason to believe that it is now less frequent for all the brothers of a family to have one wife only in common. A study of the genealogies shows that often each brother has his own wife, or that several brothers have more than one wife between them. It seemed to me, however, almost certain that in these cases the brothers have the wives in common. In compiling the genealogies, one informant would give me the names of two or more brothers each with one wife, while another would give me the name of one brother with two or three wives, and would say that the other brothers had the same wives. When I pointed out the discrepancy and asked which was the true account, they usually said it made no difference and were almost contemptuous because I seemed to think that there was any disagreement

[1] For an instance, see p. 535.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

[837] a wife and another man is not regarded as a reason for divorce
586 but rather as a perfectly natural occurrence.

627 When a man divorces his wife, the woman's people usually
684 complain to the *naim* or council, but if it is decided that the man shall take his wife back, there appears to be no way of compelling him to do so. In any case the husband pays a fine (*kwadr*) of one buffalo to the wife's people, just as he would have done if he had refused to take her when she reached the marriageable age, but he receives back any buffaloes he may have given as *pòdri*. Even if the council decides that the man ought to take his wife back and he refuses, a fine greater than one buffalo cannot be inflicted.

587 If the divorced woman re-marries, the previous husband does not receive anything, and any buffaloes given become the property of the woman's family.

THE MOKHTHODITI INSTITUTION

588 In addition to the regular marriage, there is another re-
837 cognised mode of union between men and women, which is called *mokhthoditi*. The man who becomes the consort
851 of a woman in this way is called her *mokhthodvaiol*—viz., 616 "man who keeps *mokh*,"[1] and the woman is called *sed-*595 *vaitasmokh*—viz., "woman who joins." The *mokhthoditi* union differs from the regular marriage in one important respect. It may be, and usually is, formed between Tarthar men and Teivali women, or between Teivali men and Tarthar women. The great majority of instances of which I heard were of this kind. One woman might have more than one *mokhthodvaiol*, the largest number of which I heard being three. Similarly, a man might have more than one *sed-vaitasmokh*, but as the custom entailed considerable expenses on the man, this was not common, and I did not hear of any instance in which a man had more than two.

The *mokhthodvaiol* has no rights over any children who might be supposed to be his; they are regarded as the children of the regular marriage. This would be the case

[1] *Mokh* here means 'child' in general, not son.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

even if the husband were dead or separated from his wife. If a Teivali man took a Tarthar widow as *sedvaitasmokh*, and a child were born, the child would belong to the Tartharol, and would be regarded as the son of the dead husband of the woman, and would belong to his clan. The child might live with the *mokhthodvaiol*, and be spoken of ordinarily as the child of this man, but yet for all social and legal purposes, the child would be a member of its mother's husband's clan. The dead husband is regarded as the father because it was he who last performed the *pursütpimi* ceremony. 588 837 851 616 595

There are two forms of the *mokhthoditi* union. In one the woman lives with the man just as if she were his real wife, almost the only difference being that any children would be legally the children of the legal husband of the woman or of some man of her division called upon to perform the *pursütpimi* ceremony. In the other and more usual form the man visits the woman at the house of her husband.

Owing to the restriction on the visits of Teivali women to Tarthar villages, there is a difference in the nature of the *mokhthoditi* union in the two divisions. A Teivali *mokhthodvaiol* may take his wife to live with him at one of the Teivali villages, but in those cases in which Tarthar men live permanently with Teivali women, the *mokhthodvaiol* must live at the woman's village. There are two examples of this practice at the present time in which Tarthar men live altogether at Teivali villages. 588 837 616 628 591

When a man wishes to have a given woman as his *sedvaitasmokh* he goes to the husband or husbands of the woman and asks for his or their consent. As a sample of the kind of negotiations which ensue, I will give a definite instance. A Tarthar man wished to become *mokhthodvaiol* to the wife of two Teivali brothers. He went to them and asked for their consent, which they gave, but said they should like to have the agreement confirmed by a third party (*nedrvol*), and they settled on a *nedrvol* to whom all went. The *nedrvol* asked each if he consented to the arrangement, and it was decided that the Tarthar man should give a *putkuli* worth three rupees annually to the woman's husbands, and the former became *mokhthodvaiol* to the woman on that day.

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should never have had intercourse with any of her husband's clan except those who are properly her husbands. If this explanation were the correct one, the prohibition would seem to be directed against practices resembling communal marriage, and would be interesting evidence in favour of the existence of this type of marriage, since there are no prohibitions against what does not exist nor has ever existed. As I have said, however, I think it very unlikely that the prohibition is to be interpreted in this way, but I regret very greatly that it did not occur to me to inquire carefully into this point on the spot. 835

So far as I could tell, the laxity in sexual matters is equally great before and after marriage. If a girl who has been married in infancy, but has not yet joined her husband, should become pregnant, the husband would be called upon to give the bow and arrow at the *pursiitpimi* ceremony and would be the father of the child, even if he were still a young boy, or if it were known that he was not the father of the child. I only heard of one case in recent times in which an unmarried girl had become pregnant. In this case a man who was a *matchuni* of the woman was called in to give the bow and arrow, but he did not regard himself as married to the woman and did not live with her. That some stigma was attached to the occurrence may possibly be shown by the fact that this woman remained unmarried for some years, and then only married a man who was certainly below the general standard of the Todas in intelligence. The child, a daughter, of the woman died soon after birth, so that I had no chance of ascertaining whether the irregularity of her birth would have had any influence on her position in Toda society. If, however, a child is born without the *pursiitpimi* ceremony having been performed, it is called *pádmokh* and an indelible disgrace attaches to it throughout life. 836 851 848 626

From any point of view, and certainly from the point of view of the savage, the sexual morality of the Todas among themselves is very low. It is an interesting subject of speculation how far this laxity is the result of the practice of polyandry, for since low sexual morality brings in its train various factors which tend to sterility, we may have here, as 181 831

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seems to show that colour-blind men, or rather males of colour-blind families, had colour-blind descendants more often than perhaps might have been expected if the Todas are in practice quite as promiscuous as their social regulations allow them to be. The record of the affinity of the colour-blind suggests that in spite of the theoretical promiscuity, the husbands are, in practice, very often the fathers of their children.

A few histories of individuals may be given as examples of the various marriage customs which have been described in this chapter. One of the most married of Toda women is Puvizveli of Kusharf (65). She was married in infancy to Singudr (55), of the same clan as Sinkòrs, the mother of Puvizveli, and the two were probably the *matchuni* of one another, though only in a distant way. Puvizveli was taken from Singudr by Madsu and Koboners (58), who gave for her three buffaloes. From them she was transferred to Kangudr of Piedr (62), it being arranged that he should pay eleven buffaloes. Soon after joining Kangudr, Puvizveli became ill, and since there is a prohibition of marriages between the clans of Piedr and Kusharf, it was agreed that the pair should separate, and the woman was taken by Tütners and Etamudri (58). The eleven buffaloes had never been paid by Kangudr, so Tütners and his brother gave their buffaloes directly to Madsu and Koboners, but only four instead of eleven. All these transactions took place while Puvizveli was still young, but by her new husbands she had a son who died soon after birth. During her second pregnancy, she was taken by Perpakh and Tebkudr (68), who gave six buffaloes. The transference took place before the *pursiitpimi* ceremony had been performed. Perpakh gave the bow and arrow, and the daughter since born is regarded as the child of Perpakh and Tebkudr. Puvizveli has also a Tarthar *mokhthodvaiol*.

Edjog of Kuudr (56) was married in infancy to Nargudr (62), the son of her mother's brothers, and therefore her *matchuni* in the nearest sense. From him Kiudners (70) and his two brothers took her for five buffaloes. Kiudners died

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159 851 58

before the buffaloes had been paid, and Edjog was taken by Mavòdriners (65), who arranged to pay the five buffaloes to Nargudr. He did not do so, but after having a son by Edjog, he sent her back to the father, paying a *kwadr* of one buffalo. So far, Nargudr had not received his five buffaloes, but he now obtained them from Kaners and Kudrievan (63), who took the woman although she was the granddaughter of their sister Narskuti. The marriage met with disapproval among the Todas on this account, though there does not appear to be any definite regulation against such a marriage; and at the time of my visit Edjog, a young woman of about twenty-seven, was still the wife of the two old men, aged about seventy and sixty-seven respectively.

Kuriolv of Kuudr (52) first married Punaveli (65), by whom he had two children. He then took to live with him Pilimurg (7), a Tarthar woman, giving to Pepners (44), the husband of the woman, fifteen buffaloes. Though Pilimurg is only legally his *sedvaitazmokh*, Kuriolv treats her as a wife. She lives at one of the Kuudr villages, while Punaveli lives at another. Pilimurg has had one son, Meilitars, since she has been living with Kuriolv, and Kuriolv always speaks of the boy as his son, though legally he is the son of Pepners, and his name will be found in the genealogies among the children of this man.

Recently Kuriolv has also married Sintharap (68), sharing her with Ònadj (57), of the same clan as Kuriolv, but belonging to a different family. Sintharap has had three children, for the first of whom Kuriolv performed the *pursiitpimi* ceremony, and since no one has performed this ceremony for the succeeding children, they are also regarded as the children of Kuriolv. One of these children was Sinerani, whose funeral ceremonies have been described.

Kuriolv's son, Kulpakh (52), married Toridz (65), sharing her with Kiladrvan (60), of the same clan as Kulpakh, but of a different family. At the first pregnancy Kulpakh gave the bow and arrow, and was regarded as the father of that child and of two succeeding children who were born while Kulpakh was alive. After the birth of the third child Kulpakh died,

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and Toridz has since continued to live with Kiladrvan and has had two more children. Kuriolv, the father of the dead man, succeeded in preventing Kiladrvan from performing the *pursüitpimi* ceremony before the birth of either of these children, and consequently they are regarded as the children of the dead Kulpakh and belong to Kuriolv's division (*pölm*) of the clan and not to that of Kiladrvan. Here, by virtue of the *pursüitpimi* ceremony, a dead man is the legal father of two children who are known to be really the sons of his fellow-husband.

In the preceding cases the people belong to the Teivaliol. Among the Tartharol there are similar histories.

Pupidz of Kwödrdoni (35) was married in infancy to two brothers, Kalgeners and Kinagudr, belonging to the same clan as the mother of Pupidz, so that she would probably have called them *matchuni*, though they were not nearly related. From these boys Pupidz was taken by Patser (26), who gave for her three buffaloes. From Patser she was taken by Siriar (20) for five buffaloes. Some time later Pepob (44) wished to marry Pupidz, but both she and Siriar were unwilling to be separated. Pepob, however, persuaded the council to arrange that he should have the woman for three buffaloes, and soon after five or six men carried off the woman by force, entering Siriar's hut at night. Two of the men held Siriar while the others carried off his wife, who became pregnant by Pepob, but Siriar, who had been trying to get back his wife, succeeded when she was about at the sixth month. The hand-burning ceremony had already been performed, but Siriar gave the bow and arrow, and is therefore the legal father of the boy born afterwards, although Pepob is known to have been the real father. Siriar had to give Pepob eleven buffaloes, though he had only received three, and had given five to the previous husband.

Nanbarvan of Kars (7) first married Pothenir (47), by whom he had one son. Nanbarvan went to England with a party of Todas, and Pothenir then married Kutadri, Nanbarvan's first cousin. On his return from England, Nanbarvan married Sindod (38), by whom he had a second son. Then he fell ill, and in consequence sent Sindod away,

159 and since that time he has had no wife, though he claims
851 that Iraveli, his brother's wife, is also his. There seems to be
58 no doubt, however, that he does not live with his brother in the same way as in most cases of polyandry, and is a wanderer with no regular home of his own, but I could not discover the cause of this.

159 A dispute about a marriage was in progress while I was
627 on the Hills, which I did not understand completely, but it appeared that Oselig (24), who had been first married to
851 Teigudr (4), was then taken by Punog (14). Punog was said
58 to have treated his wife badly, and to have failed to perform his duties when there was a funeral in the family of Nertiners, the brother of Oselig. He had not given the proper *pödri*, nor had he taken part in the cloth-giving ceremony, so Oselig ran away from him and took refuge with her brother. After a month Punog demanded back his wife and also twelve buffaloes which he had left with Nertiners for grazing purposes. Nertiners refused to send back his wife, and returned only eight of the buffaloes. He also proceeded to arrange that Oselig should marry Udrchovan (36), and Punog accused Nertiners of having got up the whole quarrel in order that Oselig should make this marriage. The matter was referred to the council, and it was decided that Oselig should become the wife of Udrchovan, but I did not hear for how many buffaloes, nor how the other disputes about buffaloes and *pödri* were settled.

At this time Udrchovan had another wife, Pandut (45). She had been the wife of Udrchovan and his brother Popners from infancy, and after having three children, who died young, she had been sent away and Udrchovan married Kavener (3), while his brother married Silkot (10). Later Kavener was taken from Udrchovan by Kudrvas (11), and Udrchovan remarried Pandut, who in the meantime had had two other husbands.

159 To the foregoing accounts, which I give as exceptional
584 and not as typical examples of the uncertainty of Toda
595 married life, I add one taken from the book published by Captain Harkness in 1832, p. 121. The notes are added by
851 myself.

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THE HISTORY OF PINPURZ KUTAN

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"I was not seven years old, when my father, taking a child's garment, in value about a quarter of a rupee, and selecting one of the best of our herd, desired me to accompany him to the morrt[1] of Kinōri. This Kinōri had, a month or two before, a daughter born to him. Soon after we had arrived at the morrt, it being understood that Kinōri gladly consented to the propositions which had been made by my father, I was directed to bow myself down, and in the presence of the whole family to ask his foot. This I did; and touching it with my forehead, the buffalo and the garment were presented him, and I was considered to be affianced to his daughter. We remained there for some days, during which period it was agreed upon, what number of kine I was to receive in dower, on my intended spouse coming of age, and we again set out to return to our own morrt. I had no brothers, or they also would have been affianced to my intended, as this was part of the agreement, in case of my father having any more sons born to him. In this case Kinōri's daughter would have been wife to us in succession as we arrived at manhood, and we should have formed one united family—the supreme authority, however, still resting with me. The next year, my father presented to my intended bride a garment, double in value to the first which he had presented, and in each succeeding year, one proportionately increasing in value. We also sacrificed a buffalo, and presented a kutch[2] on every occasion of a death among any of the relations of my intended's family, and one also at their obsequies. In case of any accident of the kind in our family, we expected the same to be observed towards us, except the presenting of the kutch, from which my bride's father was exempted on account of the dower he had to give with her, which would greatly exceed in amount any expense which I could be

[1] This is evidently the same word as *marṭh*, which occurs in Chapter XIV as a word for village.

[2] This is the *kach*. Harkness states that it was generally a piece of dyed or printed cotton as at present.

159 to my father. My father died, and when I had attained
584 man's estate, I was not pleased with my betrothed; and
595 presenting her father with three kine, the contract was by
851 mutual consent dissolved. Had the reverse been the case,
and the bride or her father had declined to allow of con-
510 summation, I could have claimed of the latter a fine equal
to fifty kine, and till this fine was paid the former could
not marry any other. Freed from my contract with my first
bride, I sought to affiance myself in a manner more to my
own inclinations, and wishing to be connected with the family
of my present wife, Pilluvāni, who was then only six years
of age, I spoke to her father, and, obtaining his consent, pre-
sented her with a garment in value, according to her age, of
about a rupee and a half, and a milch buffalo. I continued to
present her with a garment every succeeding year; and on
the occurrence of a death among any of the relations of
her family, and at the obsequies, I always sacrificed a buffalo,
and presented the kutch. Pilluvāni was afterwards betrothed
to two others, Khakhood and Tūmbŭt. When she had
arrived at a certain age, and had for eight days been living
with one of her female friends in a dwelling separate from
those of the family,[1] intimation was sent to me, and I went to
her father's morrt, that is, Kerjwan's, her second father, the
first one being dead. I was feasted and bedded; and after a
few days, Kerjwan, laying on his hands, gave us his blessing,
and I returned with my wife to my own morrt, receiving with
her in dower four buffalo kine; her father also presented
to her on this occasion a pair of ear-rings, a pair of armlets, a
necklace, a brazen salver, and five rupees.

159 "Now, according to our customs, Pilluvāni was to pass the
595 first month with me, the second with Khakhood, and the third
851 with Tūmbŭt; and the two latter, waiting in succession on
the father-in-law, were to ask his blessing and claim their
privilege in right. I was to give her raiment the first year,
Khakhood the second, and Tūmbŭt the third. I had the
option of claiming the first three children, Khakhood the
second three, and Tūmbŭt the third three; when the option
again revolved to me. It was my place to go to her father

[1] This is a custom of which I failed to obtain any account.

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two or three months prior to the birth of a child, and, delivering to him a small piece of wood, which we call a billu,[1] to claim the forthcoming infant, whether male or female, and acknowledge before him and his relations that I would protect and nourish it; and that, whatever might happen, I allowed this to be in satisfaction of one of my claims. On this occasion, also, I was to present him either five or ten rupees, and in return he was to allow me to select, if I presented him five rupees, three; if ten rupees, six of the best kine of his herd. If the child proved a boy he would have to present me with a heifer, and another one also on the birth of each son, but not on the birth of a daughter, as it is supposed that she will soon be betrothed, and that a fortune will accrue to her in that way.

"After the third birth the same observance and privilege would have fallen to Khakhood and Tūmbŭt successively, or if I chose to give up any of my rights the two latter would successively have had choice of adoption, &c., &c. We all three should have been equally bound to protect the whole of the children, to marry, and to give them in marriage; but the superior authority would always have rested with me.

"The case of Pilluvāni and myself, however, was at variance with this custom. We were very fond of one another and determined not to separate. I offered to pay the usual fines, but the other party would not accept of them. I had been unfortunate. A murrain had attacked my herd; the greater part of Korrorr,[2] and which belonged to my fathers, had been forsaken by the Marvs and Cūvs,[3] from the oppression of some of their rulers, and from being a leading man among my own people I was now reduced, but principally by the oppressions of my wife's relations, to comparative poverty."

[1] This is evidently due to misunderstanding of the *pursūlpimi* ceremony. The Tamil word for 'bow' is *vil*.

[2] Probably Keradr.

[3] Badagas and Kotas.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

618 *mondgar* and serve on the *naim*. Other families important in
184 government whose members can serve on the *naim* or council
554 are called *tinkaniputitth kudupel* or *tinkani kudupel* and
463 *palutth kudupel*. The members of certain other families have certain duties of a lower order in connexion with the *naim*. They take messages and act generally as servants at the meetings, and the families with these functions are called *kavòdiputipol kudupel*, or servant families. They are also sometimes called *armanol* or palace people, because at one time the Rajah of Nelambur in the Wainad put his buffaloes into their charge.

Laws of Descent

611 Descent among the Todas is always reckoned in the male
851 line. A man is always of the same clan as his father, if by his "father" we understand the man who has given the bow and arrow to his mother at the *pursütpimi* ceremony. In the case of the offspring of a *mokhthoditi* union, there is at first sight an appearance of female descent. The child of a Teivali mother and a Tarthar father belongs to the Teivaliol and *vice versâ*, but on further inquiry it is found that the child does not belong to his mother's clan, but to that of her legal husband. The child of a Teivali mother in such a case is not Teivali because his mother is of this division, but because a Teivali man only is allowed to perform the *pursütpimi* ceremony with a Teivali woman and become the legal father of her child. If, in such a case, the *pursütpimi* ceremony had not been performed, the child would belong to the division and clan of neither father nor mother, but would be a *padmokh*, of no division and of no clan.[1] I did not definitely inquire into the point, but from my general knowledge of the position of such an individual, I have little doubt that he would not be allowed to perform the *pursütpimi* ceremony, and could therefore never become the legal father of a child.

In this as in all cases the clan to which a child belongs

[1] Another name for a man of no clan is *pazuh*, but I do not know whether this is merely a synonym of *padmokh* or whether a man can lose the right of belonging to a clan for any other reason than that described above.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

is determined entirely by the *pursütpimi* ceremony. If in a polyandrous marriage the husbands belong to different clans, a child belongs to the clan of the husband who has last performed this ceremony, and, as we have already seen, in the case of the death of one of the husbands, the dead man may become the legal father of several children, if the surviving husband does not perform the ceremony of giving a bow and arrow to the wife.

Again, in the case of a woman becoming pregnant while still unmarried, the father of the child is the man who is called in to give the bow and arrow, although he may have had nothing to do with the woman before the ceremony. Further, if for any reason the husband of a woman should be prevented from performing the *pursütpimi* ceremony, some other man is called upon to give the bow and arrow and he becomes the father of the child. Lastly, in the numerous cases of transference of wives from one man to another by the *tererstthi* custom, one man may be the real father of a child, but another will become the legal father if the transference should take place in time for him to perform the essential ceremony.

The Todas show few traces of mother-right. In some communities there is little reason to doubt that such acts as are performed by a Toda towards his sister's son are survivals of a condition of society in which the mother's brother was responsible, largely or altogether, for the welfare of the child. Among the Todas, however, the *mun* stands in two relations to a child. He is the mother's brother, and he is also the prospective or actual father-in-law, and we have no means of telling in which of these two *rôles* he performs his duties. If the duties of a man towards his sister's son among the Todas be a relic of mother-right, there can be little doubt that this condition must have been very remote.

The Todas have a special name for the village of a man's mother—viz., *karuvnòdr*, or "honoured place," and when a *mannokh* gives a buffalo or other contribution on the occasion of a funeral, he speaks of it as a gift to his *karuvnòdr*. When a man visits his *karuvnòdr*, he goes to the door of the dairy

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

428 one-third of the whole of the property of the three brothers. If the property had been divided among the three brothers, the man who died would have received one-third, and the children should have received his share.

611 In all cases of distribution of property, inheritance depends
428 on descent as determined by the *pursütpimi* ceremony, and not on the real descent, even if this should be well known.
851 Thus the boy Meilitars (44), who is really the son of Kuriolv, but is legally the son of Pepners, should not inherit any of Kuriolv's buffaloes, but will receive those of his legal father, Pepners, of whom at present he is the only son.

If the whole of a family, such as is given in one of the genealogical tables, should die out, the inheritance of the buffaloes and other property is determined by the nearest links of descent, of which a tradition may be preserved, even if the actual relationship cannot be definitely traced.

421 Several interesting features of Toda law are illustrated by
428 a case out of which a lawsuit may one day arise. If the family of Kiugi (57) should become extinct, there would
611 arise a dispute about the succession to the property, which
671 would turn largely on a case in which the *pursütpimi* ceremony
183 was performed several generations ago. When the eldest child of Tudrvan (52) was about to be born, Tudrvan was away from home, and had not performed the *pursütpimi* ceremony. There was a danger that the delivery might take place before the ceremony could be performed, and Kòrs (57) was therefore called in to give the bow and arrow, and Teitchi, who was born soon afterwards, was, according to Toda custom, the child of Kòrs. When Teitchi grew up, however, he decided to regard himself as the son of his real father, Tudrvan, and being a powerful and influential person like his grandson Kuriolv, he appears to have had his way, and his descendants have been regarded as the descendants of Tudrvan. Tudrvan himself gave the bow and arrow in the succeeding pregnancy, and there is therefore no doubt about the legitimacy of Pusheiri and his younger brothers and sisters.

Owing, however, to the part played by Kòrs before the birth of his grandfather, Kuriolv has lately directed that Kiugi, the son of Kòrs, should belong to the same *pòlm* as

CHAP. XXIV.

II. Each clan has grazing and forest land of its own, which is divided between the villages of the clan, each village being situated in its own land.

III. Each village is the abode of a family or intimately related portion of a clan, whose cattle are herded together.

IV. Whilst the land is in each case, the property of the village itself, and cannot be alienated or sold, with or without the consent of the occupants;[5] the cattle which graze on it, are the private property of individuals, being males.

V. The milk of the entire herd is lodged in the pâlthchi, or village dairy, from which each person, male and female, receives for his or her daily consumption;[6] the unconsumed balance being divided, as personal and saleable property, amongst the male members of all ages, in proportion to the number of cattle which each possesses in the herd.

VI. The grain food collected in the form of kûtu,[7] from the Badagas, is divided amongst the community.

VII. No females, whether married or single, possess property: but, under all circumstances of life, are supported by their male relations; being fed from the common stock.

VIII. When a father dies, his personal property is divided equally among all the sons. If the deceased, being an elder brother, should have no sons, his next brother inherits the property.

IX. All children of both sexes, belong to the father's family: and inheritance runs through the male line only. Thus (1) if a widow should re-marry, her sons by both marriages, have claims on their respective father's property. (2) If a widower marries again, his property will be inherited by his sons of both marriages, equally. (3) If one or more women are in common to several men, *each* husband considers *all* the

Badagas, is, curiously enough, not employed by the Todas, who have *no word* for clan.

[5] Mr. J. Breeks, late Commissioner of the Neilgherries.

[6] See Chapter XVII. for the management of the dairy.

[7] See Chapter VIII. on the custom of collecting kûtu.

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

children as his—though each woman is mother only to her own—and each male child is an heir to the property of all of the fathers. CHAP. XXIV.

X. In order to avoid the complications that would arise, in the matter of food and the guardianship of property, from the re-marriage of widows, if they entered other families, taking their children with them; either a brother or other near relation of her deceased husband, takes her to wife. She 'remains in the family.' Such is Toda expression.

The following was early Semitic custom (*see* Deuteronomy xxv. 5): 'If brethren dwell together, and one of them die, and have no child, the wife of the dead shall not marry without unto a stranger; her husband's brother'—or 'next kinsman,' says a marginal note—'shall go in unto her, and take her to him to wife, and perform the duty of an husband's brother[a] unto her.' This practice, is either pure polyandry, or it pertains to that extreme communistic state of society, to which, as I shall shortly demonstrate, polyandry belongs.

I met on one occasion, the instance of a man who had just separated from a very good-looking young wife of about fourteen years of age, in order that he might marry his elder brother's widow. It was looked on as a matter of course that the widow should 'remain in the family:' and the retention of two wives, in a community where the women are considerably in the minority, is out of the question. The girl had immediately espoused another; for until children have been born, the Todas do not mind the marriage of a widow out of the family.

These and other instances of the grave, practical, and undeviating nature of this curious people, made a great impression on me at the time.

Perhaps the feeling which engrosses the Toda mind more

[a] To raise up seed unto the brother.

4: King G-5 (no date) 1870 Nilgiri Toda Kurumba

582 of which is understood to ratify the agreement. When, in due
583 course of time, the marriage takes place, the bride, who is probably about fifteen or sixteen years of age, receives from her father a dowry of several buffaloes, together with necklaces, armlets, and ear-rings. The ceremony is generally celebrated by a dance, which, though not of a very exciting description, seems to afford sufficient satisfaction to these cheerful, good-natured people. It consists of stamping on each foot alternately, the body being jerked half round at one step, and back again at the next, to the time of a very monotonous song.

843 When about to become a mother, in place of receiving every
851 comfort and consideration, the Toda woman is sent out, or, what amounts to the same thing, is by custom expected to go out into the forest, and there remain alone, protected only in case of stormy weather by the shelter of the bushes. After the child is born, it is not allowed to be seen by any-one but its parents for some weeks, at the end of which time it is duly named and presented in public.

582 It is a fact worth noticing that, notwithstanding the scarcity
583 of women (said to be owing to the practice of female infanticide which prevailed till within a very few years ago), the Todas never contract marriages with the other tribes, though living together on most friendly terms. That there never has been any mixture of the races, is sufficiently evident from the strongly marked distinctions that continue to exist between them.

It is not less singular, on the other hand, that, in spite of the system of intermarriage which has thus prevailed among the Todas for many generations, or it may be ages, there should not only be no sign of physical deterioration, but that both sexes should be so remarkable for their stature, pleasing exterior, and noble bearing. This would seem to confirm the theory that the marriage of relations, however closely connected, would, in cases of mutual faultless constitution and physical form, result in these excellences of the parents being transmitted, just as in the opposite case physical and mental defects common to both are transmitted, and even augmented.

764 When a death occurs among the Todas, the corpse, covered over with certain aromatic herbs, is left in the hut either till distant friends are summoned, or until the occurrence of a propitious day for the burial; these people being firm believers in

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538
● 851
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Enquiry into the details of the moγðoɪʧjt institution (called by Rivers mokhthoditi)[11] supplements Rivers' account in some important details. For all legal purposes, i.e. membership of *mod* and the consequent relations to the tribe as a whole, Rivers is correct. Children of these unions are legally children of the man who has given the bow to the mother. In investigating restrictions on the freedom to form these unions it was found that there are two classes of union. In one the man who takes the woman gives only a cloak (puɪtγuʃj). Children of this type of union and the man's legal children may form moγðoɪʧjt unions without any restrictions, except that such a union may not be formed while the parents are still living together in a union of this kind. When the union in the earlier generation ceases, a union in the next generation may be formed.

In the other class of union the man gives to the woman jewelry and makes to her male relatives the koɪlmilvuɖθt salutation ("act of falling on leg," i.e. kneeling and putting to one's head the other's feet in turn; of the one who raises his feet it is said, koɪlγoɪʧ-, "leg-show"). Children of the union are then in the same relation to the man's legal children as if they were ðuðmortkvædvoj, and the same rules hold for unions between them, and between their descendants as for unions between ðuðmortkvædvoj and their descendants. For example, a half-brother and a half-sister may not form the union; their children may form the union, for they are pseudo-mot ʃiɲj. Children of half-brothers may not form the union, but their children may. Rivers[12] mentions the union of kðuɪɪiaʃl of the tððviʃj with piʃj-muɾγ of the toɪɾðaz. He insisted on giving ter for her[13] as if she could be his legal wife, and lived with her for many years (which is unusual in these unions), having by her four children, who were regarded by everyone as his own except that they belong legally to the toɪɾðaz. This seems to have been the first case in which ter was given in one of these unions, and there have been some later imitations of the precedent. This type of union is merely an extension of the type in which the koɪlmilvuɖθt salutation is performed, and the regulations governing unions of the descendants are the same.

The taboos described above operate also between all those who are in a pseudo-relation of ðuðmortkvædvoj because of a moγðoɪʧjt union. In the first type of union they cease to operate when the union is dissolved, in the second they are permanent in their operation, just as is the prohibition against further unions.

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[11] Described in Rivers, pp. 526-29.
[12] Page 534 *and*.
[13] See Rivers, pp. 523-25.

7:Thurston E-5 (no date)1909
AW60 Toda AW60

595 among them. When the girl becomes the wife of a boy, it is usually understood that she becomes also the wife of his brothers. In nearly every case at the present time, and in recent generations, the husbands of a woman are own brothers. In a few cases, though not brothers, they are of the same clan. Very rarely do they belong to
595 different clans. One of the most interesting features of
851 Toda polyandry is the method by which it is arranged who shall be regarded as the father of a child. For all social and legal purposes, the father of a child is the man
[843] who performs a certain ceremony about the seventh month of pregnancy, in which an imitation bow and arrow are given to the woman. When the husbands are own brothers, the eldest brother usually gives the bow and arrow, and is the father of the child, though, so long as the brothers live together, the other brothers are also regarded as fathers. It is in the cases in which the husbands are not own brothers that the ceremony becomes of real social importance. In these cases, it is arranged that one of the husbands shall give the bow and arrow, and this man is the father, not only of the child born shortly afterwards, but also of all succeeding children, till another husband performs the essential ceremony. Fatherhood is determined so essentially by this ceremony that a man who has been dead for several years is regarded as the father of any children born by his widow, if no other man has given the bow and arrow.
595 There is no doubt that, in former times, the polyandry
[849] of the Todas was associated with female infanticide, and it is probable that the latter custom still exists to some extent, though strenuously denied. There is reason to
[169] believe that women are now more plentiful than formerly, though they are still in a distinct minority. Any increase, however, in the number of women does not

7:Thurston E-5 (no date)1909
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appear to have led to any great diminution of polyandrous marriages, but polyandry is often combined with polygyny. Two or more brothers may have two or more wives in common. In such marriages, however, it seems to be a growing custom that one brother should give the bow and arrow to one wife, and another brother to another wife."

The pregnancy ceremony referred to above is called pursutpimi, or bow (and arrow) we touch. According to the account given to me by several independent witnesses, the woman proceeds, accompanied by members of the tribe, on a new moon-day in the fifth or seventh month of her pregnancy, to a shola, where she sits with the man who is to become the father of her child near a kiaz tree (*Eugenia Arnottiana*). The man asks the father of the woman if he may bring the bow, and, on obtaining his consent, goes in search of a shrub (*Sophora glauca*), from a twig of which he makes a mimic bow. The arrow is represented by a blade of grass called nark (*Andropogon Schænanthus*). Meanwhile a triangular niche has been cut in the kiaz tree, in which a lighted lamp is placed. The woman seats herself in front of the lamp, and, on the return of the man, asks thrice "Whose bow is it?" or "What is it?" meaning to whom, or to which mand does the child belong? The bow and arrow are handed to the woman, who raises them to her head, touches her forehead with them, and places them near the tree. From this moment the lawful father of the child is the man from whom she has received the bow and arrow. He places on the ground at the foot of the tree some rice, various kinds of grain, chillies, jaggery (crude sugar), and salt tied in a cloth. All those present then leave, except the man and woman, who remain near the tree till about six o'clock in the evening.

7:Thurston E-5 (no date)1909
AW60 Toda AW60

595 851 842 [805] [824] when they return to the mand. The time is determined, in the vicinity of Ootacamund, by the opening of the flowers of *Onothera tetraptera* (evening primrose), a garden escape called by the Todas āru mani pūv (six o'clock flower), which opens towards evening.* It may [765] be noted that, at the second funeral of a male, a miniature bow and three arrows are burnt with various other articles within the stone circle (azaram).

648 585 A few years ago (1902), the Todas, in a petition to Government, prayed for special legislation to legalise their marriages on the lines of the Malabar Marriage Act. The Government was of opinion that legislation was unnecessary, and that it was open to such of the Todas as were willing to sign the declaration prescribed by section 10 of the Marriage Act III of 1872 to contract legal marriages under the provision of that Act. The Treasury Deputy Collector of the Nilgiris was appointed Registrar of Toda marriages. No marriage has been registered up to the present time.

847 198 The practice of infanticide among the Todas is best summed up in the words of an aged Toda during an interview with Colonel Marshall.† "I was a little boy when Mr. Sullivan (the first English pioneer of the Nilgiris) visited these mountains. In those days it was the custom to kill children, but the practice has long died out, and now one never hears of it. I don't know whether it was wrong or not to kill them, but we were very poor, and could not support our children. Now every one has a mantle (putkuli), but formerly there was only one for the whole family. We did not kill them to please any god, but because it was our custom. The mother never nursed the child, and the parents did

* I have seen this plant growing on the grass in front of the Pukhūr bungalow.
† *Op. cit.*

9:Emeneau L-5 (1935-1938) 1939 AW60 Toda AW60

Toda names were given at all. *E.g.* [kanfuɯsodj] gave no Toda names to his children, though his interest in tribal affairs is intense and his connexion with the tribe is fairly intimate. I cannot explain his failure to give Toda names, though a contributing factor is probably to be seen in the fact that his wife is not Toda by origin. In the few cases where I have recorded Toda names for the children of Christian Todas, tribal patterns were followed for the females. *E.g.* [tuaːsmonguɯːr] (59, Tormungudr) named one of his daughters [sotjabuːf] "spiritual power-flower," [9] which has as its first member [sotj], occurring in the song-language paired with [tuːl] in references to the power of the gods or the dairy-complexes. There is probably in this name however a transfer to the Christian sphere of thought. This man's other daughter was also given a Toda name, but she is so generally known, even to the tribal Todas, as Mary that my informants were unable to remember the Toda name. Two girls recently born were named [piːlji:ʒfuːf] "silver-flower" and [tyːlji:ʒfuːf] (the first member [tyːlj] is not clear).[10] One name of a male child belongs to the tribal religious sphere; [kuanoːn] has a son called [asojxuɯrn] from [asojuɯr], the buffaloes of the [tiː]-dairy of this man's original patrilineal sib.[11] Another son of his is called [siñxuɯːr] "gold-horn," which has no sib-connexions; the formation resembles that of women's names in its use of [sin] "gold," but the second member [kuɯːr] "horn" is an element found not in women's names, but in male names with sib-connexions.[12] Similarly with [pumxuɯːr] "fruit-horn," [13] the name of a son of [iːɲxuɯːr] (21, Idrshkwòdr).

Tribal social customs have had in general to be abandoned. Funerals and weddings, for example, are conducted in Christian fashion, and the tribal manner of legitimizing children by giving a toy bow and arrow to the pregnant mother can no longer be used. A survival of tribal custom may be seen however in a preference for cross-cousin marriage (which is not prohibited by Church of England canon law or by English civil law). This is the preferential form within the tribe but operates with many exceptions. Consequently, marriage among the Christians can take place between those who are not cross-cousins without departure from tribal patterns. The small number of the Christians makes non-cross-cousin marriage obligatory in most cases. One case, however, is known to me in which cross-cousins were available, and here the failure

[9] *Ib.* §§ 26-8, for the formation.
[10] *Ib.* § 24 for -[iːʒ] and § 27 for a name with this suffix added to its first member and followed by a second member.
[11] *Ib.* § 9.
[12] *Ib.* § 8.
[13] *Ib.* § 28, for the element [pum].

9:Emeneau L-5 (1935-1938) 1939 AW60 Toda AW60

797 794 184 [562] [851] has been baptized, will not be readmitted to the tribe. Children born in the Christian community are not admitted to the tribe; the reason given is that they are not legitimate, since no toy bow and arrow has been given for them, and so they cannot be fitted into the tribal social structure. [alc] (3, Ults), his wife [sirmul] (30, Sirmul) and their children attempted to return to the tribe; only the man was received.

794 184 764 [782] Blood and affinal relationships within the tribe involve each member of the tribe in a network of rights and obligations. At a funeral, for example, certain people related to the dead person must provide buffaloes to be slaughtered, and every man in the tribe has obligations of this sort which he will sooner or later have to meet, while on the other hand when he dies it will be obligatory on others to provide buffaloes for his funeral. It is felt by the tribe that the Christian Todas still have obligations of this sort towards their relatives in the tribe. Though the [797] missionaries object to the obligations being met for funerals, the slaughter being based on a non-Christian attitude towards a future life, it has happened on several occasions that the Christians have met their obligations, either willingly or unwillingly. [kerxuuɪn] (63, Kergudr) provided a buffalo for the funeral of his father [kanuɪs] (Kaners); I do not know whether this was voluntary on his part or not. In the case of [kanfuɪsodj] however my notes are more complete. When he was a recent convert, on two occasions he provided buffaloes for classificatory brothers, [punog] (14, Punog) and [kiɪkeɪn] (14, Kūshkeṉ). He says that he thought it best to follow the tribal rules and to yield to the insistence of the tribal council. Recently, however, [nertnuɪs] (24, Nertiners) died, who had married [paɪuniʒfiɪj] (14, Poidjveli), the classificatory sister of [kanfuɪsodj]. Her brother [noɪnmuɪnj] (Nonmudri) and [kanfuɪsodj] were the only surviving affines of [nertnuɪs] who could be called on to provide a buffalo for the funeral; according to the present regulations they should have provided one buffalo between them. [noɪnmuɪnj] had no buffaloes. One of the animals belonging to [kanfuɪsodj] was at a tribal pasture under the care of [idjoɪn] (20, son of [teɪpax]). This was seized and slaughtered at the funeral in spite of protests by [kanfuɪsodj]. It was finally arranged by the tribal council that [noɪnmuɪnj] should pay to [kanfuɪsodj] half the value of the buffalo.

794 184 585 Other obligations are found on the occasion of a woman's first marriage. Her husband gives to her father his best buffalo or two buffaloes, and five rupees; these are the [kökuɪmlj] "bribe." He also makes a feast for all the Todas. The father then gives the husband [anpuɪn] "dowry," *i.e.* a number of buffaloes, at least twice as many as the "bribe," plus one, *i.e.* three if the "bribe" was one, five if it was two.

12:Emeneau L-5 (1935-1938)1941 AW60 Toda AW60

535 614 765 [648] [616] dancing will add somewhat to the treatment. Dancing takes place at weddings[16] and at such religious ceremonies as the giving of salt to the buffaloes (up-o(jt), the rethatching of a dairy (pol)-ful-fæ:st), and the prayer-ceremony at a chief mund[17] (mod-fərtjt), as well as at such unusual social occasions as the reception of an important European visitor, the celebration under the patronage of the Governor of Madras by all the inhabitants of the Nilgiris of a Jubilee in the British royal family, large Badaga ceremonies which many Todas attend, etc. At such dances men from both moieties participate in the same dance. Men who may not dance are those who are mourning a death. (a) If the first funeral has not yet taken place, dancing is prohibited to those who are mourning the death of a man of the same patrilineal sib, of the same matrilineal sib, or of one who is called pojo:f, i.e., wife's father or brother, wife's father's brother, and conversely, daughter's husband, sister's husband, brother's daughter's husband (cf. p. 161). If the dead person is a woman, the prohibition affects, besides members of her matrilineal sib and her pojo:f, only those members of her father's patrilineal sib who belong to her immediate family. (b) If the first funeral has taken place, but mourning still obtains until the second funeral shall have been performed, no one may dance who is related to the dead person by relationship within the matrilineal sib, by the closest relationship within the patrilineal sib, i.e. by membership in the immediate family of the dead person, or by pojo:f relationship as in (a). In both (a) and (b), when a man is dead, dancing is prohibited for the husband and sons of the woman in the opposite moiety with whom he has had sexual relations of the "lover-mistress" type;[18] when a woman is dead, dancing is prohibited for the man in the opposite moiety with whom she has had "lover-mistress" relations, and for his sons.

[616] [837]

535 614 616 764 765 [837] Dancing also takes place at funerals, whether first or second. Normally only men are allowed to dance who belong to the other moiety than the one to which the dead person belonged. Here again the prohibitions indicated in the preceding paragraph hold with regard to people in the "lover-mistress" relationship to the dead person. And, of course, no person may dance who is mourning any other death. The rule permitting only men of the opposite moiety to dance is sometimes broken. At the funeral of some relatively unimportant person there may not be enough men of the opposite moiety present to dance, or at the funeral of a member of the tarthiij, nirj, and parpoir sibs of the tɔ:rθas moiety, since the munds of these sibs are far from any munds of the tɔ:θθ(j moiety. In this case members of the same moiety as the dead person will be permitted to dance, but no one who is mourning the dead

[843] [851] [621]

[16] There is no dancing at the ceremony when a man gives the toy bow and arrow to his wife during her pregnancy to legitimize the child (pwo-ərjt). At a ceremony of this kind which I attended with Mr C. P. Brune, Agent of the Madras States and author of *Chinese Central Asia* (London, 1926), the men danced so that he should be able to say how it is done. The words composed during the dance were about myself and the ceremony was mentioned only as one in a list of ceremonies that I had seen.

[17] A mund (Toda word mod) is, throughout this paper, a dairy institution plus a dwelling place. The significance of "chief mund" (mo:d-mod) as opposed to other munds (mod-pwol) has been explained in my paper Toda Culture Thirty-five Years After (Annals, Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Vol. 19, pp. 101–21, 1938), pp. 113–15.

[18] See reference in note 9 above.

12:Emeneau L-5 (1935-1938)1941 AW60 Toda AW60

tribe, and probably the shame feeling towards mother and sisters has been extended from these few relationships through the whole matrilineal sib, and then from the single sib as such to the entire matrilineal sib structure.

Where an attitude of disapproval is strongly verbalized, as is that of the Todas towards incestuous sexual intercourse, we may expect to find that there are infractions of the rules. Certainly this is the case with this rule among the Todas. As a tribe, they are vigorously and adventurously sexual, as might be expected from the number of socialized channels provided for sexual activity. Ordinary marriage within the moiety and the freedom allowed in changing mates, and the tortʃoj ("lover-mistress") institution providing for sexual unions overstepping the boundary between the moieties[34] give evidence of a high degree of sexual activity. But these do not exhaust the possibilities. There are many more irregular liaisons, not provided for by overt institutions, and indeed punishable by fines if discovered, but well attested in the verbal content of the songs. In none of the songs did I find any evidence that the restrictions on incestuous intercourse were infringed. But chance allusions by my informants and interpreters provided sufficient evidence that sexual adventuresomeness extended to such relations, and one case was specifically alluded to. It is rumored that sirjoir (Siriar, 30) at one time had sexual intercourse occasionally with his sister egog (Edjog). Such relations, if they were discovered, would be punished by a heavy fine, and there is of course also a deterrent in the fear that misfortune to the people involved or to their buffaloes would follow such offenses as evidences of the anger of the gods. This deterring pattern, though strong enough elsewhere in the culture, tends to yield when it conflicts with the pattern of sexual adventurousness. The impression gained is that cases of incest, as defined by Toda patterns, are frequent enough.

While the origin of the structure of matrilineal sibs among the Todas cannot with much profit be discussed without reference to the origin of the whole Toda culture, it seems that something should be attempted. We are not likely ever to reach certainty on the larger question. The Todas were already in the Nilgiris in A.D. 1117,[35] and for how long before is anybody's guess. Certainly their traditions give no help in the matter, since they claim to have been created in the Nilgiris along with the Kotas and Kurumbas. But, since they

[34] An interesting point arises in the case of a woman's child, whose biological father is the woman's tortʃojol. It is well known that there are many such children but no socialized attention is paid to the biological fact. It is, however, felt to be disgraceful if such a child should resemble facially its biological father. Maknir (Makner), wife of tuthirʃ of the nor patrilineal sib (Tuthirʃi, 3), had six children, all born during her husband's lifetime. The oldest of these, tödkeut (Tevö), looked like his mother's tortʃojol, nobrau of the pirtol patrilineal sib (Makner, 64), also called kwtʃ (he reared the children after tuthirʃ died). In a quarrel tödkeut might be abused (it is very insulting abuse) as: nobrau-nuix "son of nobrau" or kwtʃ-nuix "son of kwtʃ," or as nobrau or kwtʃ.

[35] B. Lewis Rice, *Epigraphia Carnatica* (Bangalore, 1898), Vol. 4, Inscription 83 in Chāmarājnagar Taluq of Mysore State. The inscription, in the Kannada language and mostly in verse, describes the campaigns of a general, Punīsa Dandanāyaka, of the Hoysala king Viṣṇuvardhana (Bittiga Hoysala Dēvaru). This general invaded the Nilgiris and "frightened the Toda." (the singular probably because of metrical requirements). No other Nilgiri tribes are mentioned, and the item occurring in a list of communities in the Coimbatore and Salem districts, Conjeveram, and Malabar, gives no ethnological information. The date is quite certain.

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

of what he calls "group marriage" tending more and more to look upon one of the women as his own (see Rivers, *The Todas*, p. 519).

From what has been stated above, it will be clear that, because of many rules and regulations about whom one may marry and whom one may not, Todas, apart from child-marriage, find it difficult, when adult, to get themselves a wife. The number of women is very limited, and many of them are ineligible because of social barriers, so that not a few men would remain single were it not for the time-honoured custom of *terershti*, or that of the transfer of wives. Rivers describes the latter as a sort of peaceful pact which is negotiated at a meeting between the husband or husbands of a woman and a man or a group of men who wish to take her to wife, compensation (*ter*) to be paid to the losing party in buffaloes being decided first, (*terershti*, "compensation he decides", see Rivers, *The Todas*, p. 523).

But when I was in the Nilgiris, transference of wives never took place except forcibly, and it was up to the *noim*, after the abduction had taken place, to fix the amount of animals that should be paid to the aggrieved party in compensation. Nowadays, no longer content with taking the case to the *noim*, some Todas are appealing direct to the Government for help, requesting even that the latter intervene actively to put an end to a custom which, with time, and no doubt because of outside influence, is becoming increasingly distasteful to them. So long, however, as there exists so great a disproportion between the numbers of men to women, and tribal regulations concerning moiety endogamy and clan exogamy are so strictly observed, there seems to be no other solution for the men to the dearth of wives than continually to be taking them from one another, while paying due compensation, so that all of them have at least a time during which they are married.

Some Toda women whom I have met have been wives to no less than seven men or groups of men, remaining with these for a year or so before being carried off again by another or others. Among them have been those who have taken pride in recounting how many buffaloes were paid in compensation for them, as in the eyes of the men their prestige seems to be in direct proportion to the importance of the figure. Women carried off leave their children if the latter are big enough, but take them with them to their new home if they are small. When they grow up, they will return to the clan of their official father.

Of course, what makes it easier for Toda men to accept polyandry and the stealing of each other's wives, is that fatherhood of the off-

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

595 851 spring with them it not a physiological concept, but a socially legalized one. They are not the father of a given child simply because they are married to its mother or because they have procreated it physically; they are so because they have "given the bow and arrow" in the *pursiitpimi* ceremony.

595 851 [843] The name means "bow we touch" and the ceremony takes place during the seventh month of pregnancy of a Toda woman – which appears as if the tribe realized that children can be born prematurely at that stage and live, and that therefore the determination of their paternity brooks no further delay. The occasion is the evening before the new moon. The woman, accompanied by the man who is to give the bow and arrow, goes to a *shola* near the *mad* at which she lives, and her companion cuts a triangular niche in a *kiersh* tree (Eugenia Arnottiana Wight) in which he places an earthenware Toda wick lamp, [824] [354] burning ghee. From the tree called *puv* (Sophora Glauca) they now fashion a miniature bow, by stretching a piece of the bark across a bent stick, and they equip it with an equally small arrow, made from *mark* grass (Andropogon schoenanthus).

In the meantime, the relatives of the man and woman have arrived at the spot and they are ritually saluted by the couple in the usual Toda manner. The woman's father promises to give a female buffalo calf, specifying in a consecrated formula which buffalo is its mother (in a case with which I was familiar (of Konokh and Mab of Kiur mund) it was the respective maternal uncles of the man and woman who made the promise and gave Rs. 5/- in cash). When this has been done, the woman goes and sits beneath the *kiersh* tree, facing the lamp in the niche above her.

The man then approaches her holding the bow and arrow and (in the instance mentioned above, he first thrice requested his father-in-law's permission to do this) addresses her so that all can hear, saying, after the *kwarshm* of his *mad*, the sentence: "*Terkishi Tirshk, pursvat!* (To Terkish and Tirshk, hold the bow)." The woman replies: "*Purs iveru?* (What is the name of the bow)" and the man answers her by [W4] giving the name for it which is that used in his clan, thus specifying for the onlookers that the child to be born will belong to his *modol*, as each of the Toda clans has another *kwarsh* name for the bow. Question and answer are repeated three times, after which the man gives the woman the bow and arrow. She raises it once to her forehead and, holding it in her right hand, lifts her eyes so as to gaze at the light in the tree trunk above her until it goes out for lack of fuel, something

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

which can often last for nearly an hour. The relatives now depart and return to the village, leaving the man and woman to cook themselves a meal. They return later, however, and all spend the night together in the *shola*, before going back to the *mad* in the morning, when a feast, open to visitors as well, is held.

Performance of the *pursütpimi* ceremony determines once and for all the fatherhood of all children borne by a woman. It need not be repeated as long as it is desired that the same man should continue to be the father of other children brought into the world by the woman. Thus, dead men can well be considered the parent of later offspring, and will continue to be looked upon as such, unless a new *pursütpimi* ceremony with another man be performed.

In most cases it is the husband who is called upon to give the bow and arrow; in the case of a plurality of husbands, one of them, not necessarily the eldest, will do so, and it is not customary to repeat it with another one of the husbands when once done by one of them. That is why men who have failed for one reason or another to procreate children, will preferably carry off the pregnant wives of others, so that when they go through with the ceremony, they will, all the same, become fathers. This was the case with the famous Toda Kuriolv (22) who, having become impotent from a wound received from a buffalo which he caught in his youth at a Toda funeral, was, nevertheless, able to have legal heirs even if they were not his own physiological sons. In cases of pregnancy having been brought about by intermoiety concubinage, a man of the same division as the woman is obliged to give the bow and arrow when she reaches her seventh month, should no one have done this for her before. The child would otherwise be illegitimate, something unheard of with the Todas.

In accordance with this system of legally determining paternity, the legitimacy of the children is assured, as no case is known in which a man could not be found to perform the *pursütpimi* ceremony for a pregnant woman. Even in instances of premarital impregnation, the girl having been "married" at an early stage to her *mutchuni*, even if the latter is not available for some reason to give her the bow and arrow, some other suitable male partner will always be found for her.

When a woman is carried away from her husband or husbands to become the wife of another man or group of men, and is subsequently compensated for by a fixed amount of buffaloes, the proceedings are not considered by the Todas to be those of a divorce. With them, that is something quite different, with a decidedly disparaging connotation

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

jointly by himself and by his brothers, and founded his own home elsewhere (at Kuudi *mad*, of the Pietarl *modol*). After he had left, the next eldest brother, Keel, went and asked Mab's parents if he and his brother Konokh could marry their daughter. The latter was already married, and so a long discussion ensued about how many buffaloes should be paid in compensation to the husband. Finally an amount of nine buffaloes was decided upon between Mab's father and the *noim*, called together specially to decide the case, (the husband was blissfully oblivious of all this, as is usual; had he discovered what was going on, he could have summoned Keel before the *noim* to explain himself and have asked for him to be fined if he did not really marry his wife Mab). Keel thought this amount of nine buffaloes too much, and departed in a huff, taking the other third plus two of the buffaloes with him. Konokh, more accommodating, however, accepted, and Mab became his.

Soon after her first pregnancy and before the birth of Marzin (for whom Konokh, the only husband at the time, gave the bow and arrow), Mab's father died. On hearing this, Keel decided to return home, and to share his brother's wife with him. Fortunately he had not married in the meantime, otherwise he would not have been allowed back, it seems. He had first to obtain the consent of Mab, of her mother, of her brothers and of Konokh, and having been given permission, he joined the marriage as a second husband. He brought the buffaloes he had taken away with him back again, gave one to Konokh and one to Mab's brothers, merging the remainder with those of his brother so as to share them jointly as before. He also paid Rs. 3 to the *noim* to regularize his reunion and make it publicly recognized. Montoi, the boy, was born later, the fruit of this polyandrous marriage, but Konokh remained the official father, as he, although the youngest, had performed the *purslitpimi* in the first instance.

The arrangements about buffaloes as described above are by no means the usual ones with Todas, each man generally owning his own, even in polyandrous arrangements. Contrary to other people who practise polyandry, the Todas do not habitually share their property in common, and do not fear to divide it. Practically their only wealth consists of their herds of buffaloes, and these they distribute among themselves regardless of their family attachments. With the Todas it can definitely be said that polyandry and the ownership of property are in no way related. We shall see some good examples of this when we analyse to whom the buffaloes of Melgarsh individually belong.

4: Yalman E-4,5 (1954-1956) 1971 AX4 Sinhalese
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the Toda themselves, have separate ritual categories. Some herds are kept in very sacred dairies and are handled by the most highly purified priests (*palol*). The milking of the sacred buffaloes and the preparation of the various milk products are also relegated to the special priests. All the buffaloes have human names.

The most important ritual institution is the "sacred dairy," which is a temple (*palli*). Entrance or even approach to the temple is severely restricted and in the highest "dairies" there is a division between the especially sacred inner chamber where a sacred cowbell (*mani*) and the various milk-churning utensils are kept and the outer chamber which holds the utensils in which milk products are given to ordinary people. The division between the sacred and the ordinary is so fundamental that when the *palol* drinks water his right hand, used in churning, may not come near his mouth: he pours the water from the right to the left and drinks it from the left hand. The *palli* is in certain respects the model for the ordinary dwelling, where again a division between the sacred inner chamber and the ordinary women's quarters is maintained. In the inner chamber, the men handle milk products; in the outer chamber the women prepare grain for food. Milk is so sacred, according to Rivers, that women are not allowed to cook with it. The household, too, has a sacred bell like the "dairy"—so that, just as the model human society is applied to the buffaloes, the model of the sacred temples is carried over to ordinary dwellings.

In terms of social organization, Rivers observes that they have a territorial organization into *mad* (hamlets), which he deliberately calls "patrilineal clans." They are patrilineal only in the sense that the child belongs to the *mad* of his *pater*. Paternity is fixed in the much-celebrated bow-and-arrow ritual which takes place before the birth of the child and, as Rivers observes, has important similarities to the *tali*-tying ceremony of the matrilineal Nayar. The ceremony gives a public answer to the question, "Whose bow shot the arrow?"

It is important to fix paternity, because sexual and marital relations are almost entirely free from restraints, and all kinds of polyandry, polygyny, wife exchange, and so on are permitted. Without the "public" statement of paternity, the *mad* position of the child could be uncertain. On the other hand, Rivers also makes it quite clear that the Todas are not interested in retaining patrilineal genealogies as such.

The question of matrilineal descent is raised quite specifically by Rivers both as it pertains to human beings and as it pertains to the sacred buffalo. He rejects it in both cases, though it would have been useful for his arguments to have found it with the Todas: "The Toda show few traces of mother-right. . . . If the duties of the man towards his sister's son among the Todas be a relic of mother-right, there can